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of certain of the old prophets of Israel. If they aim toward the grandeur of, say, an Emerson, yet welcome as an attribute of their own characters something of the artful humor of a Lowell, they feel that they are themselves worth while. It is fun to be sincere. There are celestial lights which disturb the sincere man with the joy:

"Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man."

But these lights are as gross darkness to the insincere man. There are two attitudes of mind defensible in logic: the attitude of prayer and the attitude of humor. *Pursue the sincerity of joy and the joy of sincerity.* That is the maxim revealing further the fineness of human character at its best.

But, it will be said, "this is 'Victorian stuff.'" Men who with little regard for art talk of moral codes merely, who with scant attention to causes call attention to effects only, who find in nature any perceptible stream of tendency warranting any measurable hope for stricken humanity, who speak seriously out of sympathy or sentiment as does, say, De Morgan in his "The Old Madhouse," is, charge the up-to-the-minute critics, guilty of a "last senile gesture of an age outgrown." So these my humble attempts to find here or there a comforting left-over out of the crimes and the blood-letting will, if anything, be contemptuously called "Victorian." Let the charge stand. The "red flare of dreams" is the peculiar possession of no special age.

CONCLUSION

My simple belief is that the World War has not changed the basic principles at the heart of human character. It is still the duty of every moral agent to do all the good he can. As human beings go about their business, they will continue to overcome the insipidities of optimism and of pessimism; they will profit by the mistakes and the achievements of other days; they will act with a willingness that their actions shall be taken as bases of universal laws; they will treat each other with a forbearance consonant with the fundamental principle of equality; they will continue to insist that the right shall prevail over the wrong; they will aim to render their greatest service where their greatest service can be rendered; they will accept the duty to study duty; they will reach ever forward toward that enjoyment which accompanies only that which is genuine. For, after all the needless dying, the divinity that distinguishes human character is not dead.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

Washington, D. C., Oct. 29.—Nov. 29

By GEORGE PERRY MORRIS

IN THE last number of the ADVOCATE comment was made upon the proceedings of the International Labor Conference, but the record could not be complete, as the assembly remained in session until the close of the month of November. Some of its European delegates left for home earlier. Others, following adjournment, visited important industrial and commercial centers, and the British delegation naturally improved the opportunity to visit Canada.

Strict adherence to work marked the deliberations of the members in their effort to get the new international body created and definite lines of procedure and policy defined. The various delegations, in most instances, were dinner guests of their respective nations' diplomatic representatives, and they also met to an inconsiderable extent some of the leaders of the radical wing of Washington's society. The United States as a nation showed no hospitality, nor could it with conditions at the White House and at the Capitol as they were. Federated labor, which had been invited to send a representative to the Conference, with the right to the floor but not to vote, after the first appearance of Mr. Gompers was not formally fraternal, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which had received a similar invitation, likewise paid no attention to it. Had not Secretary of Labor Wilson been in the chair, guiding the Conference, and had not the audience of watchers been fairly large, the Conference might just as well have been meeting in London, so far as outward appearances went. There were Senators, diplomats of high rank, scholars of repute, presidents of universities, heads of great industries, industrial experts, ministers of labor, and the foremost leaders of the conservative Socialist elements of Europe and Latin America among the delegates, but they were not treated accordingly. United States Senators of eminence attacked them, and the labor section of the Versailles Treaty, under which they assumed authority to meet, was rejected by the Senate. A more unfortunate time for the Conference to have assembled in the national capital can hardly be imagined. Nor have conditions in the country at large, which the delegates have been able to see, added to the foreigners' optimism about the state of American public opinion or the part that the Republic is to play in international labor action. As a matter of fact, in so far as the data laid before the Conference have been published, it has disclosed that Europe has not so much to learn from the United States in social-welfare legislation as Europe has inferred was necessary.

No acute situation over the Conference's decision to admit German and Austrian delegates arose, for the simple reason that the Austrian delegation did not start. The German delegation stopped on its way, when it was told that the Conference would adjourn prior to the date of the earliest possible arrival. The Central Powers will now deal with the permanent officials of the International Labor Board which has been set up, and places

for their delegates are waiting. So must the United States when it finds out "where it is at"—to speak colloquially.

Two controversies arising during the sittings of the Conference, in one case the cause of irritation being Japan and in the other Argentina, bore upon the same issue, namely, the right of governments not only to name their own delegates, but also to determine who the spokesman of the workers shall be. Led by Jouhaux, of France; Baldesi, of Italy, and Oudegeest, of The Netherlands, the representatives of labor, aided by the Japanese, who proved themselves exceedingly eager to co-operate, succeeded in making the Conference act forcibly. It is not likely that the governments hereafter will be quite so arbitrary or meddling. They will allow labor to determine in her own way who will speak for her.

India's ablest native representative at the Conference was of the Laborite group, and he met with so much encouragement from the British labor group and from the Conference in general that when the report of the commission on the employment of children in India was brought in it was modified to make the Indian restrictions conform more to the standards of Europe than the Indian Government's delegate and the South African employers' delegate thought advisable. The net result of the Conference in dealing with this special phase of the labor problem has been to protect child life, providing the nations follow with supplementary legislation accepting the Conference's amended recommendations.

The Conference, in acting on the formal organization for permanent service, decided that the International Labor Office, which is to be set up in Paris, should have for its governing body members nominated by Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Argentina, Canada, Poland, and, pending the formal adhesion of the United States, Denmark. The employers' nominees are as follows: Sir Allen Smith, Great Britain; Louis Guérin, France; Alberto Pirelli, Jr., Italy; Jules Carlier, Belgium; F. X. Hodacz, Tzecho-Slovakia, and, pending the appointment of a representative of the United States' employers, Mr. Schindler, of Switzerland. The workers' representatives are: Leon Jouhaux, France; J. Oudegeest, The Netherlands; H. Stuart-Bunning, Great Britain; H. Lindquist, Sweden, and, pending the appointment of a representative of the United States, P. M. Draper, of Canada. Germany also has been given representation in this group. Albert Thomas, the French labor leader, is to be the first director general.

The proportion of 23 places on this governing body assigned to Europe, the United States, Canada, and Japan and only one to the South and Central American republics naturally caused open protest by the Latins, but no action altering the decision was taken. This protest, together with the demand at the opening of the Conference (reported last month) for recognition of Spanish as a tongue, which must be officially recognized by the conferences, are straws showing how the current is running. Latin America in this realm, as in that of jurisprudence, is making herself vocal. She may not have as acute industrial troubles now as Europe and North America have, but she has hints of them that are disturbing, and her publicists are busier than they used to be with consideration of economic principles.

One of the felicitous incidents of the Conference was the adoption of a resolution, moved by a Frenchman and seconded by a Canadian, which read thus:

"The first International Conference, on the occasion of America's Thanksgiving holiday, takes this opportunity of uniting with the great people of this land in an expression of thanksgiving and praise. At the same time the representatives of the nations of the world here assembled desire to convey to the United States a message of appreciation and esteem from our respective peoples and to bespeak for the future a perpetuation of the cordial relationship now existing between them and the great nation whose guests they are on this occasion. This Conference fervently expresses the hope that this and future meetings may become an added instrumentality to the advancement of mankind and the permanent establishment of peace and good-will upon earth."

This helped keep anointed with the unguent of good-will the rasped feelings of American onlookers who could not share in the deliberations as voters and molders of its policy, and who, as it were, had to sit on the side lines and see the game played out without their "hitting the line."

The comment of delegates to the Conference on the results of the gathering are interesting. Thomas Moore, president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, considered the meeting a success, and that agreements had been reached on matters of vital importance, bettering labor throughout the world. On the question of the attitude of the United States, he said:

"The question of how far we could go if the United States does not become a signatory to the League of Nations or a party to the Peace Treaty was made much of by the employers. The workers feel that as Canada willingly and ably demonstrated her ability to take part in the World War before the United States, and set a proud record, she can take part in the benefits of the Conference. The scene has changed. The war is now for a bettering of conditions of the great masses of the world. I trust that Canada, undertaking her duty in this respect, will have a favorable bearing on the action of the United States."

The Rt. Hon. George N. Barnes, of the British Government's delegation, expressed his satisfaction with the Conference, and defined its results thus to an interviewer of the *Christian Science Monitor*:

"We have kept our feet upon the ground, have taken up practical matters of broad application, and have accomplished the results for which the Conference was called, including the eight-hour working day and the fourteen-year age limit for children. We have not only adopted recommendations for the making of laws by the various governments represented, but we have established a working base for the governing body and International Labor Office and for future conferences. On the more important subjects there has been practically unanimity."

"One of the most important things that has been done, in my opinion, is the action that has been taken in regard to special countries, notably Japan and India. These countries have been backward and this condition has been a menace to all workers. The agreement we came to here is especially important because it practically amounts to a treaty with the

governments. It has not only reduced the hours of labor in those countries, but has secured a promise to continue the reduction until the workers of the world shall be on a parity. The proposals were thoroughly discussed by representatives of the countries interested, and while some delegates stood for extreme measures on one side or the other, most of us felt and contended that it was useless to attempt more at this time than could actually be put through. A working day of nine and a half hours for Japan was a tremendous gain. To ask more would have been to risk everything."

Monsignor Dr. W. H. Nolens, leader of the largest party in the Dutch Parliament and a statesman cleric of exceptional intellectual ability and breadth of sympathy, was one of the outstanding personalities of the Conference. He says that the Conference has been notable because for the very first time "a synthesis of opinion of the great international public opinion of the world" has been formulated, and governments' delegates, employers' delegates, and representatives of labor have agreed upon the main principles of social advance, "taking into account the differences that exist between the absolute ideal and the practical exigencies of the world." "The agreement," he adds, "which is the result of our Conference, will be a sort of a frame. Future conferences may be able to reshape it, but the general form has been determined."

Lucien Jouhaux, General Secretary of the Confédération Générale du Travail, the French Federation of Labor, who was one of the outstanding personalities of the Conference, whether judged by his physical bulk, masterful mien, or oratorical art and mental powers, in a farewell interview granted to the *New York World*, said that the Conference "proved to be a step backward," lacking in square facing of the actual needs of a race distraught from the war, and apparently without pre- vision of events in the economic, financial, and political worlds which have come with terrifying rapidity since the Conference adjourned. However, he believes the Conference made a first step—"a very timid one"—in the direction of "national organization of interhelp between the different peoples of the world." He foresees a time when the international conferences of labor will deal with issues larger than those which came before the one just adjourned because more fundamental. Humanity's first duty today, as he sees it, is to admit that "the favorable financial situation of one country can only be temporary, and this only so long as the world situation rests at a deficit. To paralyze through financial speculation the productive efforts of countries momentarily less favored by circumstances is in a certain way working against oneself." The natural, normal, and progressive development of the productive forces of the world for humanity's salvation just at the present time, he argues, allows for no national particularism.

What the Conference thought of itself is indicated by the following statement, issued just a week before it adjourned, on November 29:

"The Conference has proved itself different in many ways from any other conference yet held. For the first time governments have agreed to submit the recommendations of an international labor gathering to their legislative bodies for approval, though it should be clearly understood that until

such approval is given no State is in any sense bound. The present Conference, therefore, will not merely meet, debate, pass resolutions, and then adjourn, but will have the guarantee of each of the forty States represented to present its findings officially to the competent legislative authority within one year.

"The Conference is, moreover, more widely represented than any other yet held. It includes not only the high industrial States of Europe and North America, but the less developed States of South America, Africa, and Asia. While, of course, this broad representation of States with such widely varying standards makes agreement most difficult to obtain, it serves nevertheless, on the one hand, to extend to those States which are now becoming industrialized the safeguards of a more liberal industrial legislation, and on the other hand to protect the more advanced States from the unfair competition of lower standards.

"The organization of the Conference into three groups—governments, employers, and workers—has also had a salutary effect. Not only has it allowed the employers and workers of different countries to unite on an identic program without fear of unfair competition from States having lower standards, but it has also assured the support of each group to any decision finally reached by the Conference. Consequently the Conference recommendations will not only have been thoroughly threshed out by the various groups in each country called upon to endorse them, but each nation will be free of the fear of prejudicing its interests by adopting legislation more liberal than that of its neighbors.

"Probably the most important outgrowth of the Conference will be the constitution of the International Labor Office, which is designed to be the permanent labor organization associated with the League of Nations. Its function will be to act as a clearing-house for information on all international labor problems, to register laws and regulations, and to prepare the agenda for the annual conferences. Already many problems have been referred to it by the Conference for examination."

A full report of the proceedings of this Conference will be issued in mid-January, including not only the draft conventions and recommendations, but also the discussions of the open sessions. It may only be indicated briefly here that the Conference came to a definite understanding, with suitable adjustment for varying national standards, on the limitation of hours of work in industrial undertakings to eight in the day and forty-eight in the week. It took advanced positions as to establishment of free public employment agencies under the control of a central authority, representatives of employers and of workers to act as advisers. Measures to prohibit establishment of employment agencies that exist to make profits is urged; and where there are such agencies now it is held that they be operated only under government license and ultimately be abolished. Recruiting of bodies of workers in one country, with a view to their employment in another country, should be permitted, so it is affirmed, only by mutual agreement between the countries concerned and after consultation with employers and workers in each country in the industries concerned. Reciprocity of treatment of foreign workers and their families is advocated. As to women's employment before and after childbirth, the Conference was of the opinion that it should not be permitted during the six

weeks following confinement, and that during absence for such a cause benefits for the full and healthy development of the woman and her child should be provided either out of public funds or by means of a system of insurance. In the important realm of night work for women, the Conference would have the nations put an end to it, whether it is done in public or in private industrial undertakings. The opinion also is formally registered that steps should be taken to protect women and children who labor from anthrax and from lead poisoning. The nations were all advised to establish national health services, to be related with the International Labor Office, as a common guardian of their data. Broadly speaking, employment of children under fourteen years of age is condemned, save in undertakings where only members of the same family are employed; and persons under eighteen years of age, it is agreed, should not be employed at night, save those who work in the same family labor circle or who are employed in industrial undertakings that by nature of the process employed compel labor day and night. In the case of the latter sixteen is the age limit approved.

WOMAN AND THE PEACE TREATY

By REV. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER

An Address Given at the National Council of Women of the United States, St. Louis

We call the attention of our readers to the importance of the *National Council of Women of the United States*, one of twenty-five such Councils across the world. It represents at least 10,000,000 women among its thirty national organizations within this country. Its President is Mrs. Philip North Moore, of St. Louis.—THE EDITORS.

IN VIEW of what the National and International Councils of Women have already declared in respect to internationalism, we are not here holding a meeting to discuss a new question of the form of a proposed League of Nations; we are here with a history.

The National and International Councils of Women were born in 1888. The International Council held its first quinquennial session, in 1893, in Chicago; the second in London in 1899; the third in Paris in 1904; the fourth in Canada in 1909, and the fifth in Rome in 1914. We should have had a meeting in 1919, but circumstances which you all know have postponed it until September, 1920, when it will be held in Christiania, Norway.

At every session of the International Council resolutions in favor of international arrangements for the prevention of war have been passed and great meetings held in which the principles and methods by which to carry out these principles of internationalism were presented. The first committee which the International Council of Women formed was a Committee on Peace and Arbitration. It was at first thought that the International and National Councils would meet only for purposes of conference, and that anything that savored of propaganda should be shut out; but so eagerly insistent were the women of the world who came together at that great meeting in Chicago, held in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition, to express one great desire which they held in common, that a Committee on Peace and

Arbitration was formed; and before the 1899 meeting was reached every one of the National Councils in membership in the International had already established a Committee on Peace and Arbitration, as such committees were then universally called.

When it was first proposed to have a Committee on Peace and Arbitration, a woman rose in the International Council meeting and said: "Why have a Peace Committee, when the Constitution of the International Council of Women is in itself a peace document?" and quoted the Covenant of that body as follows:

"We, women of all nations, sincerely believing the best good of humanity will be advanced by greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and of the State, do hereby unite ourselves in a Federation of workers, to further the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom, and law."

I once stood on the platform in a great meeting in New York City beside a man who said: "There is no need for peace societies, for the Christian Church is a Universal Peace Society." Yet, neither the preamble of the Constitution of the International Council of Women nor the profession of faith in a universal fatherhood and a universal brotherhood has kept us from war, and therefore the International Council of Women was right in definitely pledging help to prevent war.

In 1895, when the International Committee was appointed, the fourteen nations then represented in the Councils had each an important member on that International Committee. Such has been the custom ever since, and our own May Wright Sewall served with distinguished ability and full consecration as the representative for many years of our own country on the International Committee, and then as International Committee Chairman of Peace and Arbitration.

In the agenda of the second quinquennial a very important resolution was proposed and it was passed at the meeting, viz:

"Resolved, That the International Council of Women do take steps in every country to further advance by every means in its power the movement toward international arbitration."

The National Council of Women of the United States undertook a special work in connection with its own Committee on Peace and Arbitration the first year after the first Hague Conference was called. They set apart a day in May to come together to celebrate the coming of the nations together in a peace conference. This was the simple resolution passed in 1903:

"Whereas the Hague Conference of Peace and Arbitration convened on the 18th of May: Therefore

"Resolved, That that day be universally conserved as Peace and Arbitration Day."

The first year over 390 meetings were held; the second year over 700 were held. I myself ceased to keep tab upon these meetings, but there were on one day at least over 3,500 reports that reached us of meetings held on this day to celebrate the establishment of the Peace Con-